LABOR AGE

Volumes 1-3
1913-1915

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Introduction

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Introduction

The 1920's were not a good time for American radicals. In his outstanding history of the American worker between 1920 and 1933, *The Lean Years,* Irving Bernstein tells us why. He also reminds us of much forgotten in the mythic idealization of the Jazz Age. "The symbol for the twenties," Bernstein notes, "is gold." Charles and Mary Beard, for example, entitled their beginning chapter on that era "The Golden Glow." Bernstein offers a different perspective: "For the great mass of people . . .—workers and their families—the appropriate metallic symbol may be nickel or copper or perhaps even tin, but certainly not gold." Reviewing in detail the immediate years before the Great Depression, Bernstein advises that "the interplay between illusion and reality is a key to the period." Certain magazines published in the twenties remain basic sources for exploring that relationship. Liberal weeklies such as *The Nation* and *The New Republic* head any such list. So does *Survey,* a weekly often remembered just for its advice to "social workers" but actually a rich mine for social historians. The monthly *Labor Age* belongs with those better known weeklies. More specialized, more radical, and less well-edited, it is a basic source for understanding the seamy underlife of the Jazz Age as well as a little-recognized but steady stream of radical social commentary and criticism. In addition, *Labor Age* and its editors are a crucial link between the socialism of Progressive America and the more complex radicalism of the New Deal era.

A few months before the Great Crash, labor economist William M. Leiserson privately fumed over the failures of organized labor. He had good reason for his muted despair. The decade had seen a drop in trade union membership from 19.4 percent of the labor force in 1920 to only 10.2 percent ten years later. More than this, the Golden Decade of American Capitalism had seen a hardened social conservatism develop among the top national leadership of the American Federation of Labor. This process caused and also reflected much else.

The 1920's were not friendly to social experimentation and radical politics. Industrial unions such as the United Mine Workers of America fell into disarray. Powerful collective bodies were lacking among workers in most mass-production industries. The triumph of the American Plan meant little more than a mixture of company unions and welfare capitalism. Politics celebrated little more than the triumph of crass materialism. The corporate society of the 1950's and the 1960's made its greatest advances in that decade after the Great War. Modern America was born during World War One and came to a hasty

maturity in the twenties. Organized labor seemed asleep in these years. And that lull disturbed those who quarreled with the underlying assumptions that sustained the New America. "What the labor movement . . . now needs is a lot of strong criticism showing up their weaknesses and their stupidity," complained Leiserson a few months before the Great Crash. "That is the only way . . . in which they can be awakened and stimulated to perform the functions . . . which they ought to be performing."[2] Those who edited and wrote for *Labor Age* did not need such advice. For nearly ten years, they had played that role—as critics of the New America and especially of its hardened Labor Establishment.

Published between 1913 and 1933, *Labor Age* spanned two critical decades in twentieth-century American labor and radical history. It started soon after Woodrow Wilson went to the White House and just before Progressivism was to flower fully. Its last issue went to press shortly after the beginning of Franklin Roosevelt's first term and while the nation still lived in the pit of the Great Depression. In its first issue, Ellen Hayes, a Wellesley College professor, expressed a moral outrage that would repeat itself in other ways for the next twenty years:

> They who reach forth strong hands to grasp the cup that holds the wine of life are esteemed the fittest for its enjoyment. They may be over-fed, over-clothed, over-housed, over-opportunitied, and it is quite in accordance with the nature and order of things, even though this over-living costs others the primary necessaries of life. On the other side in the great social alignment are those who perceive more or less distinctly the worth and rights of every human being.

She wrote for the magazine when it was called *The Intercollegiate Socialist* (1913-1919). It next appeared briefly as *The Socialist Review* (1919-1921). Its major span was under the name *Labor Age* (1921-1933). It shared common personnel under all three titles, but when it became *Labor Age* its focus shifted, as did its importance. Over its entire life, the magazine bore witness and gave testimony to the collapse of the pre-1920 socialist movement, the growing conservatism of trade unionists such as Samuel Gompers, William Green, Matthew Woll, and John Frey, the despair and isolation of their radical critics, and finally to the breakdown of the new capitalism itself between 1929 and 1933.

The Intercollegiate Socialist (and its successor *The Socialist Review)* differed from *Labor Age,* had importance of its own, and deserves brief note. Harry W. Laidler edited it for the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. That it served as the Society's major publication is reason enough for it

to retain importance to students of American society and culture. The Intercollegiate Socialist Society brought together older socialists and younger critics of pre-World War One capitalism and liberal reform. Its members included a veritable *Who's Who* of significant American social critics and theorists as well as writers and artists. Some had already achieved importance, but others would emerge between 1920 and 1940 as major social critics. ISS members included Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Clarence Darrow, William English Walling, Benjamin Flower, Jack London, Morris Hillquit, John Dewey, William J. Ghent, Florence Kelley, Roger Baldwin, Randolph Bourne, Paul Blanshard, Bruce Bliven, Paul Douglas, Morris Ernst, Lewis Gannett, Freda Kirshway, Alexander Meiklejohn, Broadus Mitchell, A. J. Muste, Selig Perlman, Vida Scudder, Charles Steinmetz, Ordway Tead, Walter Weyl, Norman Thomas, and Bouck White. To write of American social thought in these and later years without considering these men and women is to write of a foreign country.

Its first issue suggested the range of *The Intercollegiate Socialist.* Although it contained a poem by Arturo Giovannitti, then in an Essex County, Massachusetts jail, in the aftermath of the 1912 I.W.W. Lawrence textile strike, the magazine was more directed toward intellectuals, students, and socialists than toward trade unionists and workers. The same issue contained "theoretical" articles by Upton Sinclair, William English Walling, and W. J. Ghent. An essay came from the pen of Lester Frank Ward, the father of American sociology whose theoretical works had matured during the Gilded Age. The magazine followed its early position, promising in Laidler's words to shed "'light, more light' on the meaning of the world-wide movement for industrial democracy known as Socialism." The second issue printed a little known essay by historian Charles A. Beard, "Why Study Socialism." [3] Other early issues included a significant special supplement by Walling entitled "Who Gets America's Wealth?" (December, 1915-January, 1916). But *The Intercollegiate Socialist's* greatest value lay in what it recorded about the socialist dispute over the First World War. Even articles by Karl Kautsky and Kier Hardie fall away in importance when compared to the special supplement (April-May, 1917) entitled "Socialists and the Problems of War. A Symposium." It need only be noted that, in addition to Walling, the contributers included Randolph Bourne, Walter Lippmann, Scott Nearing, Algie M. Simons, and John Spargo.

Labor Age drew some of its writers and much of its spirit from *The Intercollegiate Socialist,* but it represented a quite different emphasis. Full and quite useful details concerning *Labor Age,* and the events that led to its birth and that explain its importance, appear in James O.

Morris, *Conflict Within the AFL. A Study of Craft Versus Industrial Unionism,* 1901-1938 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958, especially pp. 86-135). What follows draws heavily from that account. Concerned largely with the struggle within the A.F. of L. over the craft union as an appropriate response to modern technology and business organization, Morris gives careful attention to the "labor progressives" of the 1920's. *Labor Age* was their magazine, and it is the major source for understanding their role inside and outside the formal labor movement. Such men and women as fit under the rubric "labor progressives" opposed the dominant A.F. of L. strategy in the 1920's, which Morris properly characterizes as hoping "to promote organization through union-management cooperation and to convince businessmen, politicians, Legionnaires, other groups, and the public in general that organized labor was a 'respectable,' 'patriotic,' and 'American' institution." The A.F. of L. national leadership had numerous critics within organized labor. Between 1919 and 1923, for example, the leaders of fifteen state A.F. of L. federations and twelve national unions favored more "aggressive" policies, including "amalgamation" and industrial unionism. From among them and the radicals (mostly socialists) outside the unions came the Workers' Education Bureau of America (1921), Brookwood Labor College (1921), the Labor Publication Society and *Labor Age* (1921), and, finally, after severe conflict with the national A.F. of L. leadership, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (1929). Early cooperation between the "labor progressives" and the conservative A.F. of L. national leaders in adult worker's education was doomed to failure. The critics from the left worried men like William Green and Matthew Woll, and conflict seemed inevitable. Morris carefully describes these troubles over adult education, and especially the growing mistrust of Brookwood by the A.F. of L. national leaders that finally sparked a rupture between the federation and "labor progressives" such as A. J. Muste.

The Labor Publication Society and *Labor Age* grew increasingly dissatisfied with and critical of national A.F. of L. leadership and policies. *Labor Age* regularly revealed these disagreements. At its start, the Labor Publication Society, which sponsored *Labor Age,* included on its Board of Directors old I.S.S. members and other socialists and radicals outside the formal trade union movement, among them Florence Kelley, Harry Laidler, Louis Budenz, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Roger Baldwin, Stuart Chase, Anna Strunsky Walling, and Muste. But the L.P.S. represented more than this small group. It also included "progressives," many of them socialists, within the trade unions. Its president was James Maurer, the socialist head of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and its vice-presidents included Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America leader Joseph Schlossberg, and Thomas

Kennedy, the secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America. Others on its Board of Directors included the editors of *Headwear Gear* (J. M. Budish) and *Justice* (Max Danish), as well as the presidents of the International Upholsterers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, the vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the vice-president of the New York State Federation of Labor.

From its start, *Labor Age* made clear its differences with the national A.F. of L. leaders. It promised to be different from its predecessor and from contemporary trade union and radical periodicals. Unlike *The Socialist Review,* Harry Laidler insisted, *Labor Age* would give "far more attention . . . to the problems of labor unions." The journal promised to "fill a well-defined need" and present "a viewpoint distinct from the interests of any party or section." In its first issue (which included a typical range of articles on trade activities and strategy as well as on labor conflicts by such writers as Baldwin, Powers Hapgood, Danish, Budenz, Maurer, Solen De Leon, Leo Wolman, Stuart Chase, and Paul Blanshard), the editors assured readers they would report and interpret "up-to-date happenings from the battle-line of the struggle" and would bring together in one place information scattered in hundreds of specialized labor and radical journals. *Labor Age* set out its objectives plainly. "The goal of the American labor movement," it stated, "lies in the development of a system of production for service instead of for private profit." It favored "independent political movements" and "worker's educational efforts."

Especially after 1926, such an emphasis caused increasing conflict with the A.F. of L. national leadership. The conservatism of Green, Woll, and Frey did not help matters. Nor did their suspicion and concern regarding the influence of the "labor progressives." The rhetoric of Muste, Budenz, and Laidler dominated the pages of *Labor Age* and grew increasingly critical of the Labor Establishment. Their radicalism questioned official A.F. of L. policies, favored organization of the mass-production industries, and urged attention to groups (including women and Negroes) bypassed by the craft unions. *Labor Age,* Morris concludes, "developed arguments which were not in any substantial ways improved upon by the labor insurgents of the 1930's." Needless to say, the dispute over Brookwood deepened the wedge between the A.F. of L. and the "labor progressives." Some trade union supporters quit the Labor Publication Society as *Labor Age* turned more bitterly against the A.F. of L. and its dominant outlook and policies. Muste and others finally formed the Conference for Progressive Labor Action in 1929, and together with Maurer, James Oneal, and Norman Thomas, they pressed fruitlessly during four years of depres-

sion against both A.F. of L. policies and Communist efforts.[4] The A.F. of L. dismissed its critics as a "group of professional tingling souls who dream of a labor party," and Communist William Z. Foster condemned the C.P.L.A. as the "little brothers of the big labor fakirs." *Labor Age* grew more partisan and sectist. But it resisted its critics from the "right" and the "left" and continued to appear for another five years before it was buried in an already crowded cemetery filled with countless defunct labor and radical publications.

For several solid reasons, however, it retains its life for scholars and students of twentieth-century American radical and labor movements. In it lie buried countless clues to aspects of the 1920's not yet studied. Fine journalism fills many of its pages with details about neglected strikes and lockouts. One learns much about men like A. J. Muste and Louis Budenz, who became even more important after *Labor Age* perished. Articles on labor racketeering in the early 1930's continue to command attention, and so do pages of depressing but instructive prose about the conditions of working people between 1929 and 1933. The magazine contains a running and often stringent and angry critique of welfare capitalism as well as of faulted A.F. of L. policies. There also are many excellent photographs of working-class life, including some otherwise inaccessible work by Lewis W. Hine. Most of all, the pages of *Labor Age* afford us a perspective on the 1920's that is quite different from the one that dominates most historical literature. Socialism faded from the mainstream of American life in the 1920's, but the socialist editors of *Labor Age* recorded aspects of that mythicized world that escaped the attention of Americans drowned in bathtub gin and deafened by Chicago jazz.

—Herbert G. Gutman
Rochester, New York, 1968

NOTES

[1]Irving Bernstein, *A History of the American Worker, 1920-1933. The Lean Years* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960), p. 47.

[2]Quoted in Bernstein, *ibid.*, p. 142.

[3]This article is not listed in an otherwise seemingly complete bibliography of Beard's writings in Howard Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard: An Appraisal* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1954), pp. 265-286.

[4]See especially the manifesto, "The Challenge to Progressives. An Editorial Statement," *Labor Age*, XVIII (February, 1929), 3-7.

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THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST

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FOREWORD

It is a distinct pleasure to announce that the Intercollegiate Socialist Society has reached that stage in its development when it must possess a more adequate organ of expression than the I. S. S. Bulletin, if it is to respond, as it should, to the ever increasing demand for "light, more light" on the meaning of the world-wide movement for industrial democracy, known as Socialism. In response to these demands, the Society has decided to publish an I. S. S. quarterly, the "Intercollegiate Socialist." It shall be our endeavor to increase the size of this quarterly and to add new departments thereto as rapidly as the situation warrants.

The aim of the quarterly will be primarily educational. We shall strive to portray with faithfulness the International Socialist Movement in all of its manifold aspects. We believe the field for usefulness is vast. We urge your co-operation.

You can co-operate,—(1) By ordering as many copies of the magazine as possible for distribution among your friends;

(2) By patronizing our advertisers, and by mentioning the Society's name in your correspondence with them;

(3) By sending us any suggestions you may have for the quarterly's improvement.

THE NEW POLITICAL ALIGNMENT

PROF. ELLEN HAYES, *Wellesley College.*

(From speech delivered by Prof. Hayes at Fourth Annual Convention I. S. S., N. Y. City, December 28th, 1912.)

A "new political alignment"? There is none. What has happened is that an old alignment, faint and faulty, weather-worn and obscured by political debris, has been made distinct and straight. Political fences, whereon are wont to perch those who would be almost anything to anybody to gain many votes, are being replaced by a chasm. The assembly on one side may be generally described as believing that the human race is composed of two elements: one selected by Providence or fate, or self-elected by cunning and push, to enjoy life's goods; while another and larger element exists to toil and not to enjoy. They who reach forth strong hands to grasp the cup that holds the wine of life are esteemed the fittest for its enjoyment. They may be over-fed, over-clothed, over-housed, over-opportunited, and it is quite in accordance with the nature and order of things, even though this over-living costs others the primary necessaries of life. On the other side in the great social alignment are those who perceive more or less distinctly the worth and rights of every human being. "To die would be an awfully exciting adventure!" exclaims Peter Pan. Yes, Peter; and to be born is even more of an adventure, whether one arrives in a hut or a palace. To be born a human creature with the possibilities of humanity is the great event. The perception of this fact, and conduct ordered in recognition of it, is perhaps the

ultimate measure of the ethical attainments of the individual and the community. . . . .

The sharpening alignment means that we are nearing a time when, in spite of planned confusion and clever sophistry, it must be recognized that there are fundamentally only two social attitudes and, hence, logically, only two political parties possible: the Socialist and the anti-Socialist. Under the spell of the specious plea for gradual reform and in the name of "evolution," many earnest and honest folk will attempt to postpone the day's clear-cut issues; and their allies—those who benefit most by the present economic order—are ready to make concessions: hours a little shorter, wages a little longer, sanitary conditions somewhat improved, if you insist on that; more mothers out of the mills and back in their poor homes; fewer babies in the canneries; fewer boys in the breakers. They will even consent to certain forms of State Socialism to prevent the coming of the Socialist State—which is a very different matter. Concessions? Yes, all sorts of concessions except the one concession. They will never, under any ordinary compulsion, surrender their precious and sacred system of profits. . . . .

On the other side of the line are just the Socialists with their final statement as expressed in the Party platform: "Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their right of inheritance." . . . .

In the Pantheon at Paris, in the great Gate of Hell design, is one figure assuredly the most significant ever conceived and wrought by any sculptor. Rodin calls it "The Thinker"; and the Thinker is primitive man seated with his head bowed on one hand, beholding the crimes and passions and follies of descendants unroll themselves to his view. Behind him are millions of years of ancestors wholly animal; beside him are his simian relatives—the next of kin; before him is the human race and some three or four hundred thousand years of war, murder, greed, lust, the everlasting oppression of the weak by the strong, the unremitting oppression of one sex by the other. If that paleolithic creature could have seen all this and understood all this, and if this were all, he might well have thrown himself into the deep sea, resolving that there should be no human race. But it is not all, and if now, after these hundreds of thousands of years, the Thinker is to find any satisfaction in his children . . . . it is because the common man is coming to his inheritance. Civilization? It shall hold nothing back from him. Knowledge? It is for no one if not for him. Art and Culture? The humblest shall not need to miss it. Religion? Let each determine his own faith and not another's.

I am not a mystic. My daily business relates to an exact science; and when I go dreaming dreams, I select those that give promise of coming true. Well, I frankly declare to you my belief that the Socialist ideal is the one ideal that redeems the human race and justifies its continuance on the earth. . . . .

One day last March it was my good fortune to spend several hours in the regular daily meeting of the General Strike Committee of Lawrence. Those who feel so sure that the proletariat cannot think or plan or execute for itself might have learned a needed lesson if they had been present in that hall. Differences of race, nationality, language and religion, counted for nothing in the marvelous solidarity of feeling and purpose there exhibited.

The months are gone; it is a day in late November, and these Italians, Greeks, Armenians, Franco-Belgians, and all the others, ask permission to march in the streets of Lawrence and it is denied them. The Franco-Belgian Hall is far too small to hold the throng and every other hall is denied them. But the Dump, the dreariest spot in Lawrence, remains;

and there they gather—four thousand of them. A cold wind sweeps the place and the storm beats upon them; yet for hours they crowd around the wagon that serves as a speaker's stand. And well they may, for august forms though shadowy appear on that old wagon. Mazzini is there beside his brother, Joe Ettor. Garrison is there—he who declared he would be heard, and was heard. He is telling those people that his countrymen are all mankind. Phillips is there—Harvard's Wendell Phillips—reaffirming in that presence and in sight of those mills as "a fundamental principle, that labor, the creator of wealth, is entitled to all that it creates." Another is there—a certain young Jewish agitator whose name has held a fairly large place in history; and he surpasses the others in the terms by which he denounces the crimes of capitalism. "Inciting to riot" would have been the charge against these companions of Ettor, if any policeman had thought to report them.

And over in the City Hall the "best" people are assembled to give thanks that they are "citizens and patriots" and not as those "low ignorant foreigners" out on the Dump. Occasionally they mention the name of that Jew as if he were one of them. Do their reverences and their excellencies and their honors of Massachusetts really think that the Nazarene radical belongs to their crowd? If so, they must believe that he would have changed considerably in two thousand years. The new social and political alignment exhibits the City Hall of Lawrence on one side and the Short Street Dump on the other. And with the City Hall are the churches and the schools. This is the situation in the valley of the Merrimac. How is it at this hour in the valley of the Mohawk?

The New England scene gives place to another, though it is the same year and month. We are in the cathedral of Basle, Switzerland. Over the speaker's stand are the words: "Workers of the World, Unite", and beneath them, other words: "War upon War." Strange decorations for a cathedral! Perhaps this is another Dump crowd. But August Bebel, *facile princeps*, the foremost citizen of Europe, is here and around him are Anseele of Belgium, Jaures and Vaillant of France, Adler of Austria, Troelstra of Holland, Sakasoff of Bulgaria and a few others—five hundred of them. Why are they gathered in Basle? Are they preparing a petition humbly praying the crowned heads and war lords of Europe to please prevent a general war? Scarcely. They issue a Manifesto. To the comrades of the world it comes greeting, and begins: "Recent events have more than ever made it the duty of the proletariat to use all its energy in proceeding with organized action," and it closes by inviting the workingmen of all the countries to put against the might of capitalist Imperialism the International solidarity of the working class, declaring that it would be madness if the governments did not comprehend that the mere notion of a world war will call forth the anger and protest of the workers. Read the full text of the Manifesto of the recent International Socialist Congress and you will know quite precisely some of the sentiments of the people of the world's Dump. And these sentiments are also essential in the new alignment. The paleolithic Thinker might make a note of it.

Fellow students of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, "organized to promote an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women," what is your personal and individual relation to the conflict that we must soon all recognize if not share in? In order to be safe you need not retreat to a library or a laboratory and study Plato and Kant or Laplace and Darwin in the original. You may read Karl Marx and Karl Kautsky, or Hillquit and Spargo, you may even read Charles Edward Russell in the original and no danger will threaten you so long as you are very quiet and acknowledge only a theoretical academic interest in Socialism. But if the Vision of human right and human gain once rouses

your zeal and commands your service, and you bear witness to the ideal—look-out for falling mercury and a chilling air! The world will weep over you and the church will pray for you—to the end that you may be rescued from the dangerous and insidious doctrine of Socialism. . . . .

In another day—perhaps soon, possibly later—when Socialism has passed to the safe and respectable stage—timid ones will come trailing into camp; they are sure to get there about supper time when the battle is mostly over; and they will sit down by our camp-fire protesting with suspicious emphasis that they always "belonged."

> "Where the vanguard camps to-night,
> The rear shall camp to-morrow,"

but the sun must rise before it is to-morrow; and meanwhile a Socialist may break a road for others through the wilderness—and seem to break his own fortunes in doing it; but whatever it costs, he will in the end say that if he could begin all over again, he would not omit an hour of the risk and toil. Russell—Comrade Russell, of the Coming Nation—does not overstate the case when he declares that "the only thing in the world worth bothering about is the advancement of the Socialist movement." After all, the real revolution is in men's minds. It is the deep, steadying resolve that the oppression of exploitation shall cease; that what was once called justice is not just enough now; that what was once deemed right cannot pass as right now. The people of the earth are to have the earth—its nurturings and comfortings, its satisfactions and its beauty. This is the substance of the new ethics; the rest is a mere matter of external adjustment to its decree.

Welcome to the new political alignment! On with the social revolution!

THE THINKER

(On the Rodin Statue.)

By Arturo Giovannitti,
Essex County Jail, Lawrence, Mass.

Think, think! Since time and life began
Your mind has only feared and slept,
Of all the beasts they called you man
Only because you toiled and wept.

Of all the ages firmly set,
Lone pillar of the world, you stood,
Beyond your hunger and your sweat,
You never knew nor understood,
Till now . . . . . .

Think, think! While breaks in you the dawn,
Crouched at your feet the world lies still.
It has no power but your brawn,
It has no wisdom but your will.

. . . . . .

From you, the chained, reviled outcast,
From you, the brute, inert and dumb,
Shall, through your wakened thought, at last,
The message of to-morrow come.

Note: The above are a few of the remarkable stanzas written by Giovannitti, one of the leaders of the famous Lawrence strike. Giovannitti is not affiliated with the Socialist movement, nor is he a member of the Industrial Workers of the World. He describes himself as a Syndicalist, and his point of view may be said to be somewhere between that of the members of the I. W. W. and of the Anarchist groups.

THE FUTURE OF THE I. S. S. —A PLAN.

By Upton Sinclair.

That the Intercollegiate Socialist Society really does fill an important and vital need in the life of our colleges, has been proved by the extraordinary rate of its growth. In the first year we had three or four chapters, with two or three dozen members, and we spent two or three hundred dollars in organizing and strengthening study groups. Last year we had thirty-eight undergraduate chapters with 750 members, and spent $4,300. At the outset of this present year we have sixty college chapters, and our work has assumed such proportions that seven or eight thousand dollars will be needed.

I cannot here attempt to prove to you the enormous importance of this Society. The men we help to educate are the future educators of America; they are teachers, writers, journalists, lawyers and public men. And this work must go on. It is a simple fact that the soil in our colleges is everywhere ready for the study and earnest consideration of the claims of Socialism. The seed has only to be scattered and the crop is there. Last fall we sent out our organizer in the Middle West; he was gone only three weeks at a net cost of about $50., and he came home, after having organized eight undergraduate and graduate chapters.

The following description of a day spent at one of the Ohio universities may be taken from the report of Organizer Laidler as indicative of the interest in Socialism shown in some of our colleges:

"Awakened at 6 A. M., I addressed a physics class of 100 on the subject of Socialism between 7 and 8, the class having voted to hear Socialism discussed in preference to their regular recitation. Between 8:15 and 8:30, an opportunity was given to speak before 1,200 students in the college chapel on 'Why Collegians Should Study Socialism.' There was a discussion on the 'Principles of Socialism,' before an Economics Class between 8:30 and 9:30; an address on 'Socialism and Law,' before a Constitutional Law Class, from 1:20 to 2:20; talks on the 'Economic Interpretation of History,' before the English Constitutional History and American History Classes between 3:20 and 5:20, and a lecture on 'Objections to Socialism,' before 100 students in one of the literary society halls, between 7:30 and 9."

Surely this work must not cease. Here is the situation. We want new chapters; we have to print and send out literature to students and sympathizers in colleges, in order that interest may be awakened and new chapters prepared for. To this end it has been our rule that for every dollar which comes from our student-members, we have raised three or four dollars outside. But with the number of our chapters doubling every year, you can see that our task grows appalling.

This is the crucial fact. We have chapters all over the United States; 10 in the New England States, 21 in the Atlantic States, 21 in the Middle Western States, 7 in the Far West and 1 in Canada. And yet most of the money to finance these chapters has to be raised in New York. We say it should be raised everywhere—we ought to make each section pay for itself. But here is the difficulty—which seems to be the universal experience of educational organizations—that you cannot raise money in Chicago to be sent to New York. No matter if it is to be spent for Chicago purposes—Chicago will not trust it to come through New York. And this is equally true of St. Louis or Minneapolis, of Boston or San Francisco. If we wish to raise money in those sections of the country, we must have an office in those sections with its own funds, its own organizer, its own executive committee. And that, as we see it,

is the next task before our Society.

We ought no longer to raise funds and administer the organizing of Chapters in Texas and California. If the Society is to grow, as its members undoubtedly want it to grow, we should devote our time for the balance of this year to organizing an Executive Committee and opening a branch office in one or more of the districts above mentioned.

If we can raise two or three thousand dollars extra this year, and organize these branch offices, we can multiply fivefold, perhaps tenfold, the power of our educational campaign during the year 1914. Will you help us to accomplish this task, either by contributing financially or by volunteer services?

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

By Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ph.D.

The world is getting so full of arguments for and against Socialism and of expositions concerning various phases of the subject, that it is well for the student to have at his tongue's end the simple facts as to what Socialism is.

To begin with fairly well-known negatives, Socialism does **not** stand for "dividing up," for equality of income, for anarchism, for hostility to religion, the family, or the flag, for violence or for an impossible transformation of human nature.

Furthermore, Socialism is not a creed, a sentiment, or a code of personal ethics, and it is something more than a philosophy, an ideal, or a party. It is a *movement*, primarily a political movement, though closely allied to the economic struggle of the unions; a movement of the working class, though in it are numbered many individuals from the capitalist class who have chosen to range themselves on the side of labor.

The Socialist movement is founded upon the philosophy of Marx and Engels, which teaches that economic relationships are fundamental in society; that when these relations outgrow the social forms that are based upon them, a revolution, peaceful or otherwise, is inevitable; that such a revolution is now maturing on the one hand, through the conscious struggle of the working class to obtain the whole product of their labor, and on the other by the automatic concentration of industry which can end only in social ownership.

The aim of Socialism, therefore, is to work in harmony with these social forces for the establishment of a new commonwealth, of which this shall be the essential characteristic—*the ownership by society of the principal means of production and distribution and their democratic management with a view to the abolition of exploitation.* He who consciously promotes this aim is a Socialist, whether or not he accepts the philosophy upon which it is based. It is recognized, however, that the realization of the ideal must come, not all at once, but only as the outcome of economic development, and that a transition period, whether long or short, must needs intervene.

The movement is international, as well as political, existing in every civilized country as an organized party, seeking to capture the control of society through the ballot. In the United States the Socialist Party, with the now negligible Socialist Labor Party, is the accredited representative of the international movement on the political field. It has banded the working class into a permanent organization, distinct from all other political parties, which, while others have risen, fallen and divided, has continued its uninterrupted growth until it has become a force to be reckoned with by the people of the United States.

Information Given.

The Socialist Party has established an Information Bureau with Carl D. Thompson as head. Address, 111 No. Market St., Chicago, Ill.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP CONTRASTED WITH COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP UNDER SOCIALISM

By William English Walling.

Perhaps the most important law of economic evolution is the steady assumption of one industrial function after another by government. Ever since railroads became general and established the present industrial system, national, local and municipal governments have everywhere been steadily encroaching upon the industrial domain. Year after year governments have employed a larger and larger proportion of the population. This tendency towards government ownership has nothing to do with democracy—one way or the other—for it holds as well in Russia, Japan and Mexico, as it does in Australia, Switzerland and France. Great Britain and the United States, it is true, have moved somewhat more slowly in this direction, but the *rate* of the collectivist movement is now being *accelerated* more rapidly in these than in any other countries. In Great Britain it has so far taken the form chiefly of municipal ownership and a partial nationalization of land rent. In the United States it promises in the immediate future to take the form of conservation (retention of national ownership of natural resources), and governmental control of trusts (or semi-monopolized industries) as to stock issues and prices or rates. The gradual absorption of railways, mines, the tobacco and spirit industries, which we have seen on the Continent of Europe makes the collectivist tendency easier to measure there, but is in no way more significant than the related tendencies in this country and Great Britain.

This tendency towards collectivism is the normal evolution of our present capitalist society. It is favored by Socialists as the inevitable result of the formation of the trusts—which they also hailed as a great step forward in the organization of industry. It is as indispensable as a basis for Socialism as were the trusts. But as long as the capitalists and the possessors of exceptional educational and occupational opportunities continue to control the government as they do to-day, it is obvious that there may be no *relative* improvement of the income and opportunities of the non-privileged when compared with those of the privileged; and there can be no Socialism as long as this situation continues. For the policy of such a semi-collectivist government controlled by small capitalists and related groups, as we see from the programs of Lloyd George, Briand, Roosevelt, and the so-called Australian Labor Party, demand that the new sources of government income derived from governmentally operated industries be used chiefly as follows:

(a) to decrease the taxes of the small capitalists;
(b) to build roads and canals, to re-forest, drain and irrigate lands and do other things, *the larger part* of the benefit of which would go to the small capitalists;
(c) to increase the health and *industrial* efficiency of labor, but only to the point of making more profitable laborers and not to the point of giving them *social* efficiency and full development, i. e., equal training and opportunity with the children of the privileged to compete for all the more desireable positions in society;
(d) to furnish safe investments for small capitalists, and finally;
(e) to lower the prices of machinery, half-finished raw materials, transportation and credit to the small capitalist producer, but not to the ultimate consumer.

And finally the control of industry by a political majority may mean class control and the autocratic administration of industry. And this is what it does mean wherever the small capitalists and other privileged elements are in a majority—as in all agricultural communities such as Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand and our Western

and Southern States (since every white man is privileged in the South). For not only do we find the above small capitalist policies carried out as against the Socialist policies, but we find that labor organizations are deprived of the one weapon of defense in their possession—and the only weapon, moreover, by which they can hope to establish Socialism against the desperate resistance that is almost certain to be expected from the small capitalist and "State Socialist" governments I have described—namely the strike. On the supposition that these new collectivist democracies represent *all* the people, it is almost universally agreed among non-Socialist reformers and progressives that some form of compulsory arbitration, which means industrial despotism, is to be established for all governmentally owned or controlled industries.

"State Socialism" (or State Capitalism) tends towards an industrial despotism. Socialism aims at an industrial democracy *requiring, as it does, that all the socially necessary means of production be democratically controlled and administered.* As that individualistic form of capitalism that formerly opposed government ownership has long ago been overthrown everywhere except in America, where at last its overthrow is imminent, the sole enemy of Socialism henceforth is capitalism under its new form of "State Socialism."

German Socialist Movement.

In Germany the Socialist vote in 1911 was over four and one-quarter millions. The party membership had increased in 6 years from 384,327 to 970,112. There are 110 Social-Democratic members of the Reichstag; 224 members of the local parliaments, and over 10,000 Socialist representatives in the municipalities and rural communes. The party has 86 daily newspapers.—From "Coming Nation," Sept. 7, 1912.

WHAT IS SUCCESS?

By W. J. Ghent.

No, the pursuit of material success solves nothing in this world worth solving. It is a cult which deceives and demoralizes and ruins, which blinds men to their actual situation in life and which evades or ignores the real solution of poverty. Instead of fostering co-operation, the natural tendency of social man, it foments strife. It dooms the multitudes to stumble about in privation and ignorance, led by a false light and a vain hope. By joining hands for a common purpose, you might achieve a material success in which all would share—one which would be the enduring basis of a higher success, a success of the social instincts and feelings, a success of moral and intellectual endeavor. By striving for individual material gain, you but wreck your own and others' opportunities.

There is thus another success than that taught by the oracles—a success often characterized by a chain of apparent defeats. It is a success which scorns poverty; or which, though sensible of its blight and pain, accepts it unflinchingly in its quest of higher things. It is the success of a Jesus, a Mazzini, a Marx. It is the success of thousands of lesser men in all times, whose deeds are unchronicled, and whose names, long forgotten, can never be resurrected. It is the success which, though generally uncrowned in the lifetime of the individual, achieves its crown in the social advancement of the race. Is this too remote or barren a reward for which to strive?

In the strife for worldly success you waste energies which would enrich the world. You rob yourself and all men. However poor in nature you may be, you can yet contribute to the real success of mankind. There is everything to do. What though the event men call defeat forever recurs to you? In an ill-adjusted world, where brutality

and cunning and selfishness triumph, there is no humiliation in the thing called defeat, so only that the goal striven for is the common good. The humiliation is rather in the consciousness of the misuse of our fellows for our own material gain, in the obstructing and halting of the onward march of mankind. Though the oracles rave, and their followers imagine a vain thing, be it yours to emulate rather than to compete, to help, rather than to harm, to struggle for and with rather than against mankind, to forego the lure of what men of the modern jungle call success, and to seek the success of one in the success of all.—From "Socialism and Success," published by John Lane & Co.

THE SPUR TO ACTION.

It isn't true that men of genius depend upon adversity and dire necessity as a spur to activity. This is all a popular illusion which the entire history of human achievements disproves and should dispel. The instinct of workmanship, if it be in no other form than fear of the hell of ennui, is the great and unremitting spur that drives and goads all men to action.—Prof. Lester F. Ward, Applied Sociology, p. 245.

WITH THE FOREFATHERS.

Slavery Only Incentive.

"The coercion of slavery alone is adequate to form man to habits of labor. Without it there can be no accumulation of property, no providence for the future, no tastes for comfort or elegancies, which are the essentials of civilization."—Chancellor Wm. Harper, "Pro-Slavery Arguments," p. 4, about 1850.

Slavery Necessary to Republic.

"I endorse without reserve the much abused sentiment of Governor M'Duffie, that *Slavery is the corner stone of our republican edifice.*"—Chancellor Wm. Harper, supra, p. 109.

Slavery and the Golden Rule.

"The Christian Golden Rule of doing to others as we would they should do to us, has been urged as an unanswerable argument against holding slaves. But surely this rule is never to be urged against that order of things which the Divine government has established, nor do our desires become a standard to us under this rule, unless they have a due regard to justice, propriety and the general good."—Rev. Richard Furman, in "Exposition of View of the Baptists," Charleston, 1833.

SOCIALIST PROGRESS IN AMERICA.

The total vote for the National Socialist ticket in the Presidential election of 1912 was 901,689, an increase of 112 per cent. over the vote of 1908, which was 424,448. West Virginia claims the largest proportional increase —317 per cent.; Massachusetts, the smallest percentage, 17 per cent. The Socialist Party was the only party of importance, in existence in 1908, which secured a greater vote in the last presidential election than in the earlier period. Oklahoma has the credit of having the largest Socialist vote in proportion to the total cast—16.61%, with Nevada a close second.

Radicalism in A. F. of L. Convention.

At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor in Rochester, N. Y., Max Hayes, Socialist candidate for presidency of that body, received 5,074 votes against 11,974 cast for Gompers. This was the largest vote ever cast against Gompers. At the convention in Boston in 1903, the opposition candidate received 1,200 votes.

The vote against industrialism was 10,983; for it, 5,929.

IN OUR INDUSTRIAL WORLD.

N. Y. State's Canneries.

A word picture of children working in canneries for so many hours that they cried to be allowed to return to their homes, if only to be whipped by their parents, was one of the many revolting details of child labor in canneries presented to the State Factory Commission at its hearing at Albany, N. Y., yesterday, by Miss Mary Elizabeth Chamberlain, Vassar, 1909.

She told the commission of seeing children from the age of four years up working *sixteen or more hours a day* snipping beans, husking corn, or sorting vegetables, until their hands bled and had to be bandaged so they might continue their work.

It was admitted that in some cases women had worked 119 hours a week (19 5/6 hours a day) and that the weekly average during the busy season for women is seventy and eighty and sometimes ninety hours a week.—"N. Y. Times," November 27, 1912.

Concentration of Credit in the United States.

"The firm members and directors of 18 selected financial institutions, numbering 180, have in all 746 directorships in 134 corporations, having total resources or capitalization of $25,325,000,000."—From summary of table prepared for the Pujo Committee, December 18, 1912.

A 1,900 Per Cent. Melon.

"During its existence the First National Bank of New York has declared dividends of $50,850,000 and has made profits of $86,504,091 with $500,000 original capital, Mr. George F. Baker, Chairman of the Board of Directors, showed. Its capital was raised in 1901 from $500,000 to $10,000,000 by the declaration of a **1,900 per cent. dividend** on the original capital, while in 1908 (the year of the panic), it earned net profits of $10,677,092 and declared $12,600,000 dividends, when the First Security Company was organized. During the four years between 1908 and 1911, inclusive, the dividends of the bank aggregated 226 per cent."—"N. Y. Times" report of George F. Baker's testimony before the Pujo Investigating Committee, January 10, 1913.

Incidents in Modern Warfare.

The Interstate Commerce Commission reports 10,585 persons killed and 169,538 injured on the steam railroads of the country for the year ending June 30, 1912, and 324 killed and 4,662 injured on the electric railroads.

As compared with 1911 there was an increase of 190 killed and 19,379 injured on the steam railroads and a decrease of 96 killed and an increase of 999 injured on the electric railroads.

Health and the Child.

About 15,000,000 (75 per cent.) of the school children in this country need attention to-day for physical defects which are practically or completely remediable.—Dr. Thos. D. Wood of Columbia University, in U. S. Bureau of Education Report.

FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION I. S. S., A SPLENDID SUCCESS.

From every point of view the Fourth Annual Convention of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, held in New York, December 27th and 28th, 1912, was one of the most valuable and noteworthy of the Society's gatherings. Some 48 regular delegates were present from 23 undergraduate Chapters, while many fraternal delegates and visitors attended the various sessions, and a number of the I. S. S. organizations, too far distant to send delegates, were represented by reports. At the convention dinner over 350, mostly collegians, were in attendance.

Promptly at 2:30 Friday afternoon, Miss Mary R. Sanford, Chairman of the Convention Committee, called the meeting to order and introduced J. G. Phelps Stokes, the President of the I. S. S., as chairman. Organizer Laidler gave the year's report of progress. He said in part: "The year just ending has been one

productive of splendid results in I. S. S. circles. The undergraduate Chapters have increased from 38 to 59, and the graduate Chapters, from 4 to 11. Some 50,000 booklets have been distributed among collegians; hundreds of talks on Socialism and allied subjects have been delivered under the auspices of the I. S. S. Chapters, and an encouraging amount of publicity has been secured in the Socialist and non-Socialist press. The Society has extended its boundaries to Canada and become international by virtue of the establishment of a Chapter at Alberta University. It has also broken into the solid South, and has given an impetus to the formation of the British Inter-University Socialist Federation, organized last spring. Its membership is between 900 and 1,000 among undergraduates and 700 among college graduates.

"Of the undergraduate Chapters, 10 exist in the New England States; 19 in the Middle Atlantic States; of which 13 are in New York State, 9 in New York City alone; 22 in the North Central and Mountain States; 4 on the Pacific Coast, 2 in the South Atlantic, 1 in the West South Central States, and one in Canada.

The chief increase this year has been seen in the North Central States, where nine Chapters have been added—7 in the last three months. The new undergraduate organizations of last Spring were: C. C. N. Y. (evening), Ohio Northern, Swarthmore, Ohio Wesleyan, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Union, Richmond, Williams, Alberta, and the New York Medical Colleges; and those in the Fall, Washington-Jefferson, Valparaiso, Indiana, Miami, George Washington, Illinois, Colorado, Pennsylvania State, Purdue, Southern California Law, Kansas State, Utah Agricultural and Hamline.

"Among the graduate Chapters, Philadelphia was granted a charter in the Spring, and Los Angeles, Chicago, Columbus, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Missoula have received charters since October. Communications regarding organizations have also been received from some 38 colleges, and at least a dozen study groups are in the process of formation.

"Of the undergraduate Chapters, 27, as far as it can be ascertained, contain between 5 and 10 members; 17, between 11 and 20 members; 9, between 21 and 30 members; 2, between 31 and 40 members; 2, between 41 and 50; and 2, more than 50. The University of Michigan, New York Dentists' Chapter, Harvard, Columbia, Illinois, Yale, and Cornell are among the leaders as far as membership is concerned. Of those Chapters reporting, 3 hold four meetings a month; 7, two meetings a month, 4, one meeting a month, and 1, three meetings a month. Of the 450 students contained in the 19 Chapters which returned the questionnaire sent by the Society, 140, or nearly one-third, were reported as non-Socialists; 310 as Socialists. Of these 140 non-Socialists, 11 were mentioned as anti-Socialists. In nine of the Chapters, the Socialist element was declared to be the predominant one; in two, it was reported that all were Socialists; in two, that there were an equal number of Socialists and non-Socialists, and in two, that the non-Socialist element was the larger. Among the text books adopted by the Chapters were: Spargo's and Arner's "Elements of Socialism," Hughan's "American Socialism of the Present Day," Hillquit's "Socialism in Theory and Practice," Walling's "Socialism as It Is" and Mackaye's "Economy of Happiness." A number use the I. S. S. "Study Courses."

"Among the needs cited by the various organizations are, better libraries of Socialist books, funds, speakers, literature, members, a closer contact with students in other Chapters, literary contributions for the Chapters' magazine, etc. Some Chapters have permanent headquarters, and are building up a library of Socialist books and Chapter tracts on Socialism. Social activities, such as banquets, outings, dances, are also engaged in by some of the groups.

"During the past year the increased work of the Society has led to the securing of larger headquarters and to an increased office force. Hundreds of clippings have been received regarding the I. S. S. from the non-Socialist press from all over the country, and the organization is now being looked upon as one of the permanent and vital forces in undergraduate and graduate life.

"Members of the Society are advised to adopt a comprehensive course in Socialism wherever possible; to secure in their Chapters both Socialists and non-Socialists; to endeavor always to apply the Socialist philosophy to present day conditions; to discuss Socialism in non-technical phrases; to start, wherever possible, a library of standard Socialist books, and to secure some rendez-vous for members of the Society. At times it will be found advantageous to co-operate with other organizations in securing speakers. The widest possible publicity should be given to lectures. Methods of activity should be determined in each case by the psychology of the college body in which the Chapter exists. Methods of conducting Chapters should be changed whenever the members feel that they are not reaching and gripping as they should the mind and interest of the average college student. After graduation, members are urged to join Alumni Chapters.

"It is suggested that graduate Chapters assist the General Society in organizing undergraduate groups; that they help in financing the work of the General Society; that they conduct courses on Socialism for those interested; arrange dinners and meetings for the

general public, and set to work as many as possible of the members of the Society at definite constructive tasks on such committees as the Press, Legal, Teachers, Research, Librarian, Lecturers, etc.

"Let us all, graduates and undergraduates, work unceasingly to throw 'light, more light' on the meaning of the greatest international movement of the age—Socialism."

The Organizer's report was followed by a number of exceedingly interesting reports of delegates.

The reception given Friday evening by the New York Alumni Chapter to the visiting delegates, at the Finch School, 61 East 77th St., was the next event of interest. A number of instructive addresses were here made by the members of the Executive Committee. Miss Mary R. Sanford pleaded for a greater liberality of spirit among those working for the cooperative ideal. J. G. Phelps Stokes urged a clear understanding of the ultimates of Socialism. Mrs. Florence Kelley emphasized the constructive side of the Socialist movement. Upton Sinclair interpreted the recent struggles of the English labor movement. Jessie Wallace Hughan analyzed the relation of Socialism to modern economic thought. H. D. Sedgwick touched upon the inspirational power of Socialism in the lives of the men and women of modern times. Wm. English Walling distinguished Socialism from what is commonly understood as Government Ownership, while Bouck White urged a closer bond of sympathy between the so-called "intellectual" and the manual proletariat. Miss Helen Phelps Stokes also said a few words. Harry W. Laidler, President of the New York Chapter, acted as Chairman. At the Saturday morning session a splendid series of papers was delivered by the delegates on the problems of the undergraduate and graduate Chapters. The topics and speakers were as follows:

"How to Increase the Membership of I. S. S. Chapters," O. C. Marckwardt, University of Michigan. (Paper submitted.)

"Methods of Organizing Study Chapters," William M. Feigenbaum, N. Y. Alumni.

"How to Conduct a Study Course," Walter M. Hinkle, Williams, and S. S. Bobbe, Columbia.

"How to Arrange Public Lectures," Alexander Trachtenberg, Yale.

"Relation of the Faculty to the I. S. S.," Prof. Frank C. Doan, Meadville Theological School, and Prof. E. O. Smith, Connecticut Agricultural College.

"How to Run a Chapter Magazine," Mr. Mendelson, New York Dentists' Chapter.

"How the I. S. S. Can Assist Individual Chapters," Helen Bernays, Barnard.

"How to Build Up Chapter Literature," Alfred Jaretzki, Harvard.

"The British Inter-University Socialist Federation and Fabian Society," Grover G. Mills, Boston Alumni.

"Advantages of District Conferences," Edgar W. Herbert, New York Alumni Chapter.

"The Young Alumni and the I. S. S.," W. Evans Clarke, New York Alumni.

"How to Organize an Alumni Chapter," Miss Rosa Laddon, Philadelphia Alumni.

"How Individual Members May Reach the Student Body," W. Christie MacLeod, Swarthmore. (Paper submitted.)

"How Socialist Collegians Can Assist the Socialist Party," William E. Bohn, New York Chapter.

After luncheon came the Question Box session, with Mrs. Florence Kelley, Wm. English Walling and Algernon Lee as leaders. This session proved most informing. The Relations of Socialism to Industrial Democracy, to Social Progress, to Syndicalism, Anarchism, Oligarchy, the Tariff Problem, the Liquor Problem, the Problem of the Judiciary, and to Marxian Economics, were among the interesting questions submitted by the delegates, and answered from various viewpoints by the speakers. At the commencement of this session, the question of "scabbing" by college men during strikes was discussed, and the delegates placed themselves on record against such activity on the part of collegians.

The largest and the most enthusiastic of the convention gatherings, and that in which the general public showed the keenest interest, was the Convention Dinner, held on Saturday evening at Kalil's Restaurant, 16 Park Place. The subject of the dinner was "The New Political Alignment." Dr. Thos. C. Hall, professor of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary, presided. Miss Ellen Hayes, professor at Wellesley College, gave an eloquent portrayal of present conditions and the necessity, from her standpoint, of the triumph of the Socialist movement. Geo. W. Kirchwey, Dean of the Columbia Law School, made a strong appeal for the Progressive Movement as the most practical one for bringing about a larger democracy. Dean Kirchwey was followed by Dr. John C. Kennedy, recent candidate for Governor of Illinois on the Socialist ticket, who gave a keen analysis of the functions of the various parties, and endeavored to show that the growth of the non-privileged classes in industry, whose interest it was to join the Socialist Party, was such, that this party would be,

in all probability, the majority political movement, within a comparatively short time. Over 350, mostly collegians, attended the dinner, which was pronounced one of the most successful in the history of the I. S. S.

The final session took place Sunday afternoon at Miss Stokes' studio. Here opportunity was given to all of the delegates to discuss informally the various problems of the Chapters. The delegates sent greetings to the recently formed British Inter-University Socialist Federation. They suggested that fraternal delegates be exchanged, if possible, at the conventions of the British and American bodies, and that the literature published by each be mailed to the other.

The holding of district conferences in various parts of the country was also strongly urged. Following a discussion regarding lecturers it was voted that the secretaries of the various Chapters co-operate with officers of neighboring Chapters in routing speakers, so as to reduce the expenses to each. The convention also urged that the undergraduate Chapters be given the privilege of voting for members of the Executive Committee, and that two student members be elected to this committee by the delegates at each Annual Convention. The matter of dividing Chapters into regular and auxiliary ones was left to the discretion of the Executive Committee. A motion was carried, "That at some time prior to the next Convention every Chapter shall submit to the Executive Committee a written account of the Chapter's activities during the year, and that a summary of these reports be compiled by the Organizer and read before the Convention, such summary to take the place of the reports by the individual delegates."

It was also moved that "A roll call of the delegates be made at the beginning of the Convention and that each delegate stand up as his name is called so that in this way the delegates may become better acquainted with each other."

It was carried that a statement of the finances of the Society be prepared, and sent to the Secretaries of the graduate and undergraduate Chapters, and that these Chapters be asked to devise ways and means of increasing the income of the general body. The question of the issuing of pamphlets by the Society was also considered. The Executive Committee was urged to publish such pamphlets on timely subjects as seemed likely to pay for themselves The Executive Committee was also requested to consider the advisability of encouraging the membership of non-collegians in Alumni Chapters, and to submit a referendum to the membership recommending either the encouragement or discouragement of such non-collegiate members.

The Convention was thereupon adjourned.

LIST OF DELEGATES

The delegates at the sessions were as follows:

Amherst—George Tramontana, 1914; E. Cohen, 1914.

Barnard—Helen Bernays, 1913; Freda Kirchwey, 1913; Caroline Cohn, 1914.

Clark—Elizabeth Woods, Grad. Sch., Miriam Van Waters, Grad. Sch.

C. C. N. Y.—B. Glassberg, 1910 (visitor); Henry Meltsner, 1913.

C. C. N. Y. (evening)—Thomas D. Eaton.

Columbia—S. S. Bobbe, Law, 1915; Mr. Leviens, 1914; Rufus T. Trmble, Law, 1914; D. Zuckerman, 1913; Gus Egloff, Grad. School (visitor); T. B. Penneston, 1913 (visitor); D. Shapiro (visitor).

Conn. Agricultural—Paul I. Schwartz, 1914; S. T. Sherman, 1913; A. B. Torezken; G. L. Horwitz (visitor); E. O. Smith (visitor).

Cornell—J. Rudnitzky, 1914; R. S. Manz, Instructor (visitor).

George Washington—Jeanette Gershanick, 1916.

Harvard—Alfred Jaretzki, 1913.

Meadville Theological Seminary—Prof. Frank C. Doan; J. W. McDonald, 1913; Albert Levitt, Grad. (visitor).

New York Dentists—William Winter, 1914; Herman Mendelson, 1914; Dr. S. P. Ratner; Dr. Lewis Rice, Grad. (visitor).

New York Medical Colleges—S. Shapiro, 1915; M. I. Sagal, 1915.

New York Univ. (Washington Sq.)—Joseph Berman, Law, 1914; Arthur Ceasar, 1913; Geo. L. Cohen, 1915; Lena Mayers, (visitor).

New York Univ. (Heights)—Stephen G. Rich 1914.

Ohio Northern—W. J. G. Carruthers, 1915; George Knott, 1913 (visitor).

Ohio Wesleyan—F. J. Pohl, Instructor.

Amer. School of Osteopathy—Dr. Gertrude Mawson.

Princeton—J. W. Alexander 2nd, Grad. Sch.; J. D. DePorte, Grad. Sch.

Springfield Y. M. C. A. College—W. R. Humphries, 1913; C. H. Line, 1913; Arthur Lockly, 1913.

State College—Robert Conover, Instructor.

Yale—M. Cleman, 1913; Paul Neergard, Grad. Sch.; Aiken A. Pope, Divinity, 1914; Alex. Trachtenberg, Grad. Sch.; M. H. Levine, 1912 (visitor).

Williams—William Kohn, 1914; Walter Hinkle, 1914.

ALUMNI DELEGATES

Boston—M. W. Daley; Allene Gregory; Louise A. Grout; George Grover Mills; Mabel Ury.

Chicago—John C. Kennedy.

Los Angeles—Esther Packard.

New York—Jessie Wallace Hughan; W. Evans Clarke.

Philadelphia—E. N. Johnson; Grace E. Phelps; Rosa Laddon.

Springfield—Josephine Bowden.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Colgate—G. Hindus.

Normal—Miss Schoenfeldt.

Rutgers—S. Waksman, 1915.

Wesleyan—Chas. H. Hanfeld.

Trinity—L. E. Goldfield, 1913.

Omaha—C. W. Thompson.

Washington—Wm. M. Feigenbaum.

NEWS FROM COLLEGES.

Since the last Bulletin twelve undergraduate and five graduate Chapters have been added to the list of I. S. S. Chapters. The former are at Universities of Colorado, Indiana, Montana, Miami, Purdue, Hamline, Valparaiso, Washington-Jefferson, Cooper Union, American International College, Morningside and East Texas Normal College.

The Alumni Chapters organized are: Chicago, Columbus, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Missoula.

NEW ENGLAND STATES.

An abundance of activity and enthusiasm has been manifested during the last few months in the I. S. S. Chapters in the New England colleges. The YALE Chapter reports lectures by Prof. Henry C. Emery, formerly head of the Tariff Board; by Mrs. Jessica G. Cosgrave of New York and by Emil Seidel, formerly Mayor of Milwaukee. The last named spoke before one of the largest and most enthusiastic meetings ever held at Yale. Congressman Berger, Dean Brown of the Divinity Department, and Prof. Thos. C. Hall of Union Theological Seminary are expected soon to lecture before the Chapter.

The HARVARD Socialist Club has held meetings addressed by Lincoln Steffens on "Socialism vs. Radicalism"; by James Mackaye, on "Socialism and Property," and by John Graham Brooks, on the "I. W. W." The Club was represented on October 28th in a political debate between the University Political Clubs, and, in November, took part in a parade to the Debs rally. A study course on "Political Engineering" is being planned for the second half year.

At the SPRINGFIELD Y. M. C. A. COLLEGE, Bouck White addressed several meetings during January. Interest in the work of the Chapter is steadily increasing. The WILLIAMS Chapter heard Mr. White in January on "Class Consciousness and the College Student." The members here are conducting a well arranged course on Socialism. The CLARK COLLEGE Socialist Society listened this Fall to addresses by Dr. Hankins, on "Socialism and the Colleges"; by Dr. R. T. Tsanoff, on "Relation of Socialism to the Peace Movement," and by Bouck White. Study meetings are held every month.

Spargo's and Arner's "Elements of Socialism" is being followed by the CONNECTICUT AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE group, with good results. Robert W. Bruère spoke in November before the WESLEYAN Chapter. AMHERST is trying to schedule some good speakers. The AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE has just joined our ranks. Communications regarding Chapters have been received from BOWDOIN, DARTMOUTH, UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT, MASSACHUSETTS INSTISTUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, TUFTS, BOSTON UNIVERSITY, Theological Department, MT. HOLYOKE, WELLESLEY and SMITH. In the latter two, however, the faculty has thus far strangely refused to permit the formation of a study chapter.

MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES.

WASHINGTON-JEFFERSON COLLEGE and COOPER UNION have come into I. S. S. circles in this section since last Bulletin. The Organizer spoke before the former in December, and the latter, January 6th. COLUMBIA Chapter has held lectures on "Dynamiting, a Social Problem," by Lincoln Steffens; and on "Industrial Socialism," by Frank Bohn. Regular meetings are planned twice a month, the I. S. S. Study Course being followed. Walter Lipmann gave a talk on "Muckraking and After" before the PRINCETON Chapter, on December 13th. Prof. Morris W. Croll spoke on "Socialism and Freedom"; Prof. R. Meeker, on the "Growth of the Socialistic Ideas," and James Maurer, former Pennsylvania Assemblyman, on "Economic Aspects of Life from a Workingman's Standpoint," during November and December. The MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL Chapter shows a phenomenal membership of 18 out of 25 students in the school. The Chapter has sustained a great loss in the resignation of Prof. F. C. Doan. Hillquit's "Socialism in Theory and Practice" is the group's text book.

The Progressive Dentist continues to be

printed month after month by the Dentists' Study Chapter, and each issue seems to be superior to its predecessor. The Chapter hopes to have its own headquarters within a short time, and is busy arranging for a ball on February 21st. The NEW YORK MEDICAL Chapter is planning a big meeting in the Academy of Medicine during February. NEW YORK UNIVERSITY OF LAW has been addressed this season by William English Walling, Bouck White and Wm. E. Bohn. Mrs. Florence Kelley and Mrs. Jessie W. Hughan also have been scheduled to speak.

Much interest in Socialism is reported in the PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE. The last lecture was by Prof. Bouke, on "Socialism in Germany." Considerable individual work in rousing interest by talks in economic classes, literary societies, etc., is being done by Wm. Christie MacLeod of the SWARTHMORE Chapter. C. C. N. Y., NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, HEIGHTS, UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY and BARNARD also report progress. A number of members of the last two chapters have acted as pickets in the recent Garment Makers' Strike in New York. Attempts to organize Chapters are being made at LONG ISLAND MEDICAL COLLEGE, NEW YORK NORMAL COLLEGE, RUTGERS and BETHANY. Rev. Wm. E. Prosser debated with Professor Coleman at GENEVA COLLEGE in November on the ethical phases of Socialism.

THE WEST.

Strong Chapters were formed at the UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO, MIAMI, Ohio, the UNIVERSITIES OF MONTANA AND INDIANA, PURDUE, VALPARAISO, and HAMLINE since the last Bulletin went to press. As usual, the UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN Chapter is doing splendid work. Alexander Irvine addressed 600 students here on the "Futility of Reform," in early December. Kelly's "20th Century Socialism" and Hughan's "American Socialism of the Present Day" are among the text books selected by study groups at Ann Arbor. Among the most active of the recent Chapters formed in the Middle West is that of the UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

At OHIO NORTHERN UNIVERSITY, five college classes, the Chapel exercises and an evening meeting in one of the Literary Society Halls were addressed by Organizer Laidler in December. OHIO WESLEYAN is planning to have Alexander Irvine some time in the Spring. A strong Chapter was formed December 11th in the UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA, with Geo. S. Hyslop as Secretary and P. J. Carlisle, President. Professor E. J. Ward and Victor Coffin, and Drs. Horace Kallen and Charles McCarthy lectured before the WISCONSIN Chapter this season. THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, DEPAUW, MARIETTA, OHIO STATE, KANSAS STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF OSTEOPATHY, and UTAH AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE are among the other Chapters which are planning big things for the Spring.

Among the colleges where it is hoped that Chapters will be formed within a short time, are UNIVERSITIES OF CINCINNATI and NEVADA, WESTERN RESERVE, DENISON, HIRAM, BUTLER, ARMOUR INSTITUTE, MILWAUKEE - DOWNER, FERRIS INSTITUTE, Michigan, FREEMONT NORMAL STATE COLLEGE, So. Dakota, GROVE CITY COLLEGE, and others. MORNINGSIDE COLLEGE has just applied for a charter.

PACIFIC COAST.

"The Economic Basis of Law," was the subject of Prof. Edw. W. Tuttle's thought stirring lecture held under the auspices of SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA LAW Chapter on January 22d.

SOUTH.

Prof. Wm. Macon Coleman addressed the GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY Chapter recently. This society has fifteen members. The EAST TEXAS NORMAL COLLEGE formed an I. S. S. Chapter in early January. RUSKIN COLLEGE, Fla., is anticipating the formation of a study group.

CANADA.

ALBERTA UNIVERSITY reports a goodly interest with lectures by A. Berkov, "Socialist Theory of Values" and K. Kingston, "The Working Class." They are endeavoring to obtain Prof. Mack Eastman of Calgary for a lecture. MCGILL UNIVERSITY is also considering the formation of a Chapter. The college paper has been filled with arguments for and against such an organization.

ALUMNI CHAPTERS.

Recent Alumni organizations have been established at CHICAGO. PITTSBURGH, COLUMBUS, CLEVELAND and MISSOULA, the first four during Mr. Laidler's organizing trip. The CHICAGO Chapter bids fair to be one of the strongest of the eleven Alumni organizations now in existence. Rev. Bernard I. Bell is President; E. N. Winston, Vice-President; Prof. Chester Nathan Gould, Treasurer, and L. E. Katterfeld, Temporary Secretary. A big dinner is being planned for February. Mrs. Mary R. Millis was the most active of those in Cleveland to form an Alumni Chapter in that City, while Mrs. Dora S. Bachman was largely instrumental in the organization of the Columbus Branch.

The New York Alumni Chapter arranged a meeting January 31st at which Carl D. Thompson, Milwaukee's former City Clerk,

spoke on the "Constructive Program of Socialism." The Chapter is having marked success with its by-monthly study meetings. Its membership is now over three hundred. Miss Mary Allan Stuart, head of the Lecture Bureau, has placed a large number of speakers, members of the Society, before Socialist and non-Socialist bodies.

Bouck White was the principal speaker at the BOSTON Alumni Chapter meeting in January. James Mackaye delivered an address on "Scientific Socialism" at this Chapter's December meeting. A study course is being followed with Mackaye's "Economy of Happiness" as text book. A sectional conference to which students in many of the New England colleges will be invited, is being planned for March or April by the SPRINGFIELD Alumni Chapter. An unusual interest in Socialism is being evinced in this City. At the study meetings of the Chapter, Spargo's text book is being followed, and reports of progress of Socialism in different countries are read.

An attractive season's program has been planned by LOS ANGELES Alumni. Dr. John R. Haynes spoke on the subject "Is There Room for an Opportunist in the Socialist Movement," on October 5th. Discussion meetings were held in October and November on what should be the relations of Socialists to reform measures and to the Socialist Party. In November, Mila Tupper Maynard represented in debate the Socialist Party and Marshall Stimson, the Progressive. The I. S. S. study course is being followed.

In conjunction with the Social Democratic Club, the PHILADELPHIA Alumni Chapter has secured splendidly equipped headquarters in Room 118, 34 and 36 South 17th St. The members are holding bi-weekly "current event" evenings, and are planning a series of monthly suppers for Social Workers. The first is scheduled for February 21st. Subject: Social Legislation of the Day. Speakers: Rev. Hubert W. Wells, Secretary City Club, Chairman; Paul Kennaday, Mrs. M. L. Johnson, Paul Hanna, Mrs. Elizabeth Evans. Mr. Menassian has given a number of talks thus far before the Chapter on "Evolution of Science and Sociology." Horace Reis led the first study meeting of the season.

I. S. S. NOTES OF INTEREST.

During the month of December, Organizer Laidler visited a number of the western colleges including Pennsylvania State and Washington-Jefferson, in Pennsylvania; Marietta, Ohio State, Ohio Wesleyan and Ohio Northern, in Ohio; University of Indiana, Depauw, Purdue and Valparaiso, in Indiana; the University of Illinois, and the University of Michigan.

During his trip four undergraduate Chapters and four alumni organizations were organized. At six of the twelve colleges visited it was found that members of the faculty were active members of the I. S. S. Chapters, and in the majority of the colleges members of the economic and sociology faculties expressed their interest in and sympathy with the aims of the Society.

Mr. Laidler is planning to speak at some of the New England Colleges in March.

Bouck White, author of "The Call of the Carpenter," lectured during January at Clark, Springfield Y. M. C. A. College, Williams, Boston University, Theological Department, and Tufts, and before the Springfield and Boston Alumni Chapters. His trip was a most fruitful one.

The office has on hand several hundred copies of the I. S. S. Edition of the N. Y. Call for December 29th. This edition contains a number of the papers read at the I. S. S. Convention, as well as many splendid articles by members and friends of the Society. Copies can be secured at 7 cents each at the I. S. S. office.

One of the most widely heralded of the Carnegie Hall meetings held under the Society's auspices, was that of January 20th, at which "Industrial Unionism" was discussed from many angles. J. G. Phelps Stokes presided. Frank Bohn, Ph.D., gave an exposition of industrial unionism from the standpoint of a worker both in the Socialist Party and in the I. W. W.; Arturo Giovannitti discussed "Sabotage" from the viewpoint of a non-member, either of the I. W. W. or of the Socialist Party. Max Hayes, recent candidate for President of the American Federation of Labor, advocated industrial unionism as a member of the Socialist Party and of the A. F. of L., while Joseph Ettor gave an exposition of the aims of the I. W. W., but not of the Socialist Party. Rose Pastor Stokes read a selection from one of Giovannitti's poems. Upton Sinclair told of the work and needs of the Society.

A highly amusing feature of the meeting was the presence of Sheriff Harburger and two dozen deputy sheriffs.

Chapters are urged to dispose of as many copies of the Intercollegiate Socialist as possible.

The first issue of the University Socialist, the quarterly of the British University Socialist Federation, appears in February.

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"Comrade Walling's book will certainly be exceedingly useful in correcting the misconceptions of Socialism which still prevail among newspaper and university men."

The New Age (London):

"Mr. Walling is a pastmaster in this form of exposition. It is, moreover, a critical, and at the same time, a constructive exposition.

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